The Muslim WORLD

The Ten Commandments and the Tablets in Shīʿī and Sunnī *Tafsīr* Literature: A Comparative Perspective

Liyakat Takim
McMaster University

Among Western scholarship, the Shīʿī view of the Biblical Decalogue and its relationship with the tablets have received scant attention. Most scholars have focused on the Sunnī view of the Decalogue and the tablets mentioned in the Qurʾān.[1] This paper will initially discuss the presence of the Decalogue in the Qurʾān. It will also compare and contrast the views of Sunnī and Shīʿī commentators regarding the tablets in the Qurʾān and will argue that the ambiguous Qurʾānic terminology regarding the contents of the tablets provided Shīʿī commentators with hermeneutical tools to extend their possible ramifications. Using the Qurʾānic terms *mawʿiẓa* (admonition) and *tafṣīl* (exposition) and focusing on the words "of all things" in verse 7:145, many Shīʿī exegetes claimed that the tablets were an important component of the divine-inspired knowledge reportedly located in the Imām. This interpretation enabled them to increase the status and authority of the Imāms.

As far as the Decalogue is concerned, the Qurʾān does not cite details of any of the Commandments. In some verses, the Qurʾān offers a general list of precepts and prohibitions that parallels the Decalogue. Even here, they are not enumerated or detailed in a systematic way. The list of ethical precepts, which appears in verses 17:22–39, is abbreviated in 6:151–3. Verses 17:22–39 state:

> "Do not set up not another god with God;
> be good to your parents;
> give the kinsman his right;
> and the needy wayfarer; and do not squander;
> slay not your children for fear of poverty;
> do not approach fornication;
> slay not the soul that God has forbidden unless it is right for you to do so;
> do not approach the property of the orphan except in a fair manner;

[1] See Sebastian Gunther, "*O People of the Scripture! Come to a Word Common to You and Us* (Q. 3:64): The Ten Commandments and the Qurʾān," *Journal of Qurʾānic Studies*, 9,1 (2007); William Brinner, "An Islamic Decalogue," in *Studies in Islamic and Judaic Traditions*, ed. W. Brinner and S. Ricks (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.
Published by Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 USA.

give in full when you measure;
pursue not what you have no knowledge of;
do not walk on the earth in an arrogant manner."

Although the Qur'ān makes reference to the Commandments revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai, it does not contain a verse that enumerates all the Commandments.[2] As Sebastian Gunther has recently shown, even the medieval Muslim exegetes did not establish a link between the Biblical Decalogue and any particular Qur'ānic passage.[3] Nor did they establish a connection between verse 2:83–4 (which bears some resemblance to the Decalogue) and the Ten Commandments.[4]

There are traditions which, as William Brinner has shown, contain elements that parallel the Ten Commandments. However, even here, they differ from the Ten Commandments cited in the Hebrew Bible.[5] In some popular Muslim literature known as *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (stories of the Prophets), the Ten Commandments that are cited appear to approximate the Hebrew Decalogue.[6] Sebastian Gunther has argued that the exegetical tradition prior to the classical commentaries and some historical sources do establish a link between Ten Commandments and the Qur'ān.[7]

For example, Abū Isḥāq al-Thaʿlabī (d. 426/1035), a man of letters and an exegete, states in his *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* that the Qur'ān contains the Decalogue itself. He locates the Commandments in 17:23–17:39.[8] For him, the Qur'ān does not just refer or allude to the Commandments, it actually contains them.[9] He also states that the Ten Commandments were revealed to Muḥammad.[10] Others like al-Kisā'ī (n.d.), the author of another *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, states that the Commandments are included in the Qur'ān in their entirety and that they are binding on all Muslims.[11] Sebastian Gunther has also argued that the *ḥadīth* literature contains a strong presence of an Islamic equivalent of the Biblical Decalogue.[12] However, he does not speculate why the Qur'ānic commentators did not cite or expound on this connection in their exegesis.

The Tablets in the Exegetical Literature

Among the scriptures revealed to previous Prophets, verse 7:145 mentions the tablets that God gave to Moses. The term *lawḥ* (tablet) occurs five times in the Qur'ān.

[2] Sebastian Gunther, "*O People of the Scripture*," p. 29–30. Verse 2:83 refers to God's Covenant with the children of Israel and to some of the Commandments.
[3] Gunther, p. 32
[4] Gunther, p. 31.
[5] Brinner, "Islamic," pp. 67–69.
[6] Brinner, p. 69.
[7] Sebastian Gunther, "*O People of the Scripture*," pp. 32–3.
[8] Gunther, p. 33.
[9] Al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī, a scholar of Prophetic traditions and a mystic also promotes the idea of an intimate connection between the Biblical Decalogue and the text of the Qur'ān. Gunther, p. 37.
[10] Gunther, p. 33.
[11] Gunther, p. 38.
[12] Gunther, pp. 38–9.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

In 54:13, Noah's ark is called *lawḥ*. The second meaning of *lawḥ* is that of writing material. It is in this sense that the Qurʾān refers to the tablets given to Moses. *Lawḥ* in the Qurʾān is also used to refer to a meanmeaa a tablet kept in heaven, which, in 85:22, is called *al-lawḥ al-maḥfūz*, the preserved tablet.

In its exposition of the tablets that were given to Moses, the Qurʾān states: "And we wrote for him (Moses) on the tablets of everything an admonition and exposition for all things and said: 'Take hold of these with firmness and enjoin your people to hold fast of the best precepts, soon I will show you the dwelling of the corrupt ones.' " (7:145). In this verse, the Qurʾān alludes to the contents of the tablets in very general terms. It does not mention how many tablets were given to Moses, nor does it provide a detailed description of what their contents were.

When discussing the tablets, post-Qurʾānic Sunnī exegetical literature is more interested in describing the precious stones from which the tablets were made rather focusing on the contents of the tablets.[13] As a matter of fact, many Sunnī exegetes speculated on the color and number of tablets given to Moses.[14] The Muʿtazilī exegete, Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), for example, admits that there is much speculation among the commentators on the number, length, and even the contents of the tablets.[15]

The general usage of the terms admonishment and exposition in verse 7:145 led the exegetes to speculate on what they meant. Many commentators state that the tablets contained a legal code, and that they were connected to the application of Jewish law. For example, Zamakhsharī states that the tablets included all the legal and ethical precepts that the Israelites needed,[16] a view that is shared in a report narrated by Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) in his *Tafsīr*.[17] The view that the contents of the tablets were interwoven with the Jewish legal code is also advanced by the famous eighth-century traditionist Mujāhid b. Jabr al-Makkī (d. 103/722). He is quoted by both Ṭabarī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) as stating that the tablets contained what the followers of Moses were required to perform and refrain from.[18] Among these early Sunnī exegetes there is a paucity of a substantive discourse on the contents and ramifications of the tablets. Most of them claim that the tablets provided the basis of Jewish law.

[13] Sebastian Gunther, "*O People of the Scripture,*" p. 31. See also Keith Lewinstein, art. "Commandments," in *Encyclopedia of the* Qurʾān, 1st ed., vol. 1, pp. 365–7.
[14] Camilla Adang, art. "Torah," in *Encyclopedia of the* Qurʾān, vol. 5, pp. 300–311; p. 301. Ismāʿīl ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr* (4 vols. Beirūt: Dār al-Mufīd, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 249; Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr fī Tafsīr biʾl-Maʿthūr* (8 vols. Beirūt: Dār Ihyā al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 2001), vol. 3, pp. 495–6.
[15] Maḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāfʿan Ḥaqāʾiq al-Ghawamiḍ al-Tanzīl* (4 vols. Beirūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿAzalī, 1987), vol. 1, p. 157; see also Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmīʿ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-*Qurʾān (30 vols. Beirūt: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1992), vol. 9, p. 46; Muḥammad al-Rāzī Fakhr al-Dīn, *Tafsīr al-Fakhr al-Rāzī*, 3rd ed (32 vols. Beirūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1985), vol. 14 pp. 246–7.
[16] al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, vol. 2, p. 158.
[17] al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmīʿ*, vol. 9, pp. 39–40.
[18] Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, p. 496. See alsoal-Ṭabarī, *Jāmīʿ*, vol. 9, p. 40; al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 14, p. 247.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) speculates that the Qur'ānic usage of the term "admonishment" in 7:145 refers to exhortations that would lead the Israelites to obey God and keep them from disobeying Him. The term also includes God's promises and threats. He further states that the Qur'ānic term "detailed exposition", on the other hand, refers to what is legally prescribed and prohibited.[19] Most of the early Sunnī exegetes have very little to say on the contents of the tablets. They focus on the terms admonishment and exposition and claim that these refer to the revelation of God's laws and general exhortation towards the establishment of a just social order.

Suyūṭī has preserved a *ḥadīth* transmitted by a reported Jewish convert, Wahb b. Munabbiḥ (d. 110/728 or 114/732). Unlike other reports, this tradition provides some details regarding the contents of the tablets. The tradition states that the tablets contain details of God's conversation with Moses. According to this *ḥadīth*, God tells Moses not to associate anyone with Him, otherwise He would get angry. God's anger, Moses is reminded, leads to His curse, which will reach the fourth generation of the descendants of Moses. God also tells Moses not to swear falsely in His name, to obey His parents, to observe the Sabbath, not to commit adultery, not to steal, not to look favorably at God's enemies, or fornicate with his neighbor's wife etc.[20] Even though many of these ethical axioms are to be found both in the Ten Commandments and the Qur'ān, there is no mention of this connection in Munabbiḥ's report.

Zamakhsharī quotes Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Balkhī (d. 150/767), another *ḥadīth* transmitter, as stating that the *alwāḥ* contain the following, which parallel, to some degree, the Decalogue. "I am the one Lord, the most Merciful, Compassionate, do not associate with Me, do not sever ties, do not swear falsely in My name, do not kill or fornicate, do not disrespect your parents."[21] Again, the fact that these approximate the Ten Commandments is not even alluded to by Zamakhsharī. The tradition is stated without drawing parallels to similar statements found in the Qur'ān. Furthermore, in these traditions, it is the ethical rather than legal tone of the tablets that is emphasized.

Suyūṭī's work contains other traditions that also speculate on the contents of the tablets.[22] Many of these resonate, broadly, with the contents of the Ten Commandments.[23] He also cites a wide array of reports on the contents of the tablets. Some of the traditions, reportedly preserved in the tablets, pertain to the conversation between God and Moses and are clearly aimed at the Jewish community. The traditions suggest that when he received the *alwāḥ*, Moses was not sure who they referred to since many of them magnified and praised an unspecified community that would appear in the future. In a lengthy report from Qaṭāda b. Diʿāma al-Sadūsī (d. 117/735), Moses is reported as telling his Lord that he sees in the tablets a community that is the last to be created and

[19] Al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 14, p. 247. See also Sebastian Gunther, "*O People of the Scripture*," pp. 31–2.
[20] Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, p. 497. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ*, vol. 9, p. 40.
[21] al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, vol. 2, p. 158.
[22] Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, pp. 497–8.
[23] See, for example, a Prophetic report cited by Suyūṭī narrated by Jābir b. ʿAbd Allah, Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, p. 498.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

the first to enter heaven, so "make this my *umma*." God responds, "This is the community of Aḥmad."[24] Other reports are also cited to show that Muḥammad's community is favored by God, and is mentioned in the *alwāḥ*.[25] In these traditions, Moses repeatedly asks God to make this favored *umma* "my community." The response is invariably, "This is the community of Aḥmad."[26]

This lengthy report from Qatāda is absent in the earlier *tafasīr* (exegetical) works. The tradition suggests that the tablets given to Moses contain details regarding the characteristics of Muḥammad's community and God's special favors on his people. The tradition is polemical since it states that it is Muḥammad's *umma* rather than the Jewish community that is favored by God. Thus, despite Moses' repeated pleas to make "my community" the beneficiary of God's favors, it is Muḥammad's community that will receive them. In a sense, the *ḥadīth* indicates that the Jewish community had lost its special status and elevated position to the Muslim *umma*.

Some Sunnī commentators also speculate on the relationship between the tablets and the Torah. According to some traditions, the tablets that God gave to Moses contained both the Ten Commandments and the entire Torah, here identified as the Pentateuch.[27] Another exegete, ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), states that it is believed that the Torah was included in the tablets and has all the information regarding the *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*,[28] whereas ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAbbās (d. 66/686–7) states that the tablets refer to the Torah.[29] In his discourse on the verse, Suyūṭī often switches between the tablets and the Torah as if he is using the terms interchangeably.[30] The relationship between the Torah and the tablets was unclear and subject to much speculation.

Other exegetes distinguish between the tablets and the Torah. Ibn Kathīr states that it is said (*qīlā*) that the tablets were given to Moses before the Torah. After citing different reports on the topic, Ibn Kathīr seems to suggest that in reality, the truth is unknown. He cites a common Muslim statement when the issue is perplexing, "God knows best."[31] Even here, the tablets are not mentioned in the context of or in relation to the Ten Commandments.

Sunnī exegetes were clearly speculating on a number of issues regarding the *alwāḥ*. As we have seen, they were unclear on the substance from which the tablets were made, their color, the contents and their relationship with the Torah. The commentators were also unclear regarding the number of tablets that Moses received. Zamakhsharī states

[24] On this tradition, see al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ*, vol. 9, p. 45; Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, pp. 498–9.
[25] Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, p. 499.
[26] Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, p. 499.
[27] Adang, "Torah," pp. 300–1.
[28] Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 247.
[29] Al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrīsī, *Majmaʿ al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (10 vols. Tehrān: Dār al-Maʿrifa, 1987), vol. 3, p. 733.
[30] For example, see Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, p. 498.
[31] Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, vol. 2, p. 247.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

that there is a dispute on the numbers of tablets that God gave to Moses.[32] When Moses broke the tablets, six of the seven tablets were taken back, only one of them remained with him. This one contained details of all things, general guidance and *raḥma* (God's mercy).[33]

The Torah was given in seven tablets, says Ibn ʿAbbās. Moses threw and broke them when he was angry so six of them were taken back by God, only one remained with Moses.[34] Ibn ʿAbbās also states that God had written on the tablets exhortation, particulars of all things, guidance, and mercy. When Moses threw them down, God recalled six of the seven parts.[35] A report reported from Ibn ʿAbbās cited by Suyūṭī identifies this as the sixth tablet.[36] However, not all reports agree that there were seven tablets. Some suggest that there were nine tablets, seven remained with Moses after he broke them.[37] Yet another report indicates that Moses was given six tablets, only four remained with him.[38] The tablet that remained with Moses has guidance and mercy (7:154) according to one report.[39]

Shīʿī Exegetical Literature in the Pre-Būyid Era

The preceding discussion indicates that Sunnī exegetes were concerned primarily with discussing the composition and number of tablets. They also speculated on what happened to them after they were broken. Very few exegetes speculated on the contents of the tablets. Before discussing the Shīʿī view on the tablets, it is important to understand some salient characteristics of the early Shīʿī exegetical literature. In all probability, these features were important in determining how the early Shīʿī exegetes viewed the tablets.

In the pre-Būyid era (344–447/955–1055), Shīʿī exegetes like ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī (d. 307/919), Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī (d. 320/932), and Furāt b. Furāt b. Ibrāhīm (n.d.) relied primarily on *al-dalīl al-samʿī*, scriptural and traditional proofs, in their commentary on the Qurʾān. These exegetes sought to prove their distinctive Shīʿī beliefs with Qurʾānic quotations, ignoring, in the process, the context in which the verses appeared, and not giving proper consideration to the historical circumstances under which they may have been revealed. Frequently, quotations from the Qurʾān were supplemented with traditions transmitted from the Prophet and Imāms.

[32] al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, vol. 2, p. 157.
[33] al-Zamakhsharī, vol. 2, p. 161 on the different numbers of tablets. See also al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ*, vol. 9, p. 46.
[34] Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, p. 496; Adang, "Torah," 301.
[35] Brannon Wheeler, *Prophets in the* Qurʾān: *An Introduction to the* Qurʾān *and Muslim Exegesis* (London and New York: Continuum, 2002), 205.
[36] Suyūṭī, *al-Durr*, vol. 3, p. 510.
[37] Suyūṭī, vol. 3, p. 511.
[38] Suyūṭī, vol. 3, p. 510.
[39] Suyūṭī, vol. 3, p. 510.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

Thus, early Shīʿī exegesis can be classified as *al-tafsīr biʾl maʾthūr*, interpretation based on traditions.

The commentators used the scripture and traditions to vindicate key Shīʿī beliefs regarding the infallibility, appointment and authority of, and the need for the Imāms. They also used these sources to justify the existence of an Imām believed to be in occultation. Such interpretations are evident in al-Qummī's *tafsīr*. For example, in his commentary on verse 7:56 "Do not corrupt the earth after it has been set in order and call on Him based on fear and longing for the mercy of God, He is close to those who do good" al-Qummī states that the term "set in order" in the verse refers to the Prophet and the Commander of the faithful (ʿAlī) while corrupting the earth means abandoning ʿAlī and his progeny, the Imāms. Qummī does not provide any proof for or source of the views he enunciates.[40]

Many of the interpretations of the early Shīʿī exegetes are also polemical in nature, refuting, in the process, Sunnī beliefs and even belittling the companions of the Prophet. Thus, for example, according to al-ʿAyyāshī, the seven gates of hell that are mentioned in verse 15:44 are meant to serve as the point of entry for the seven worst enemies of the Shīʿīs. These are the first three Caliphs and other Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid leaders.[41]

It should also be noted that, in their interpretation of traditions, these exegetes rarely employ reason or other rational tools. Unlike later commentators, they do not discuss the lexical meaning of certain terms or variant meanings of the verses they discuss. Furthermore, in these commentaries, the transmitters of the *aḥadīth* — the *rijāl* — are not scrutinized nor is the authenticity of the traditions cited questioned. That the pre-Būyid exegetes relied primarily on traditions rather than reason can be seen from some traditions cited by al-ʿAyyāshī. He cites statements from the Imāms against interpreting the Qurʾān based on reason (*tafsīr biʾl-raʾy*) and states that only the Imāms can interpret the Qurʾān authentically.[42]

When the Būyids came to power in 344/955, they patronized Shīʿī scholars who were now more free to articulate their distinctive beliefs in public. During this period, some of these scholars questioned the reliability of that part of *al-dalīl al-samʿī* which was based on traditions, because apparently fabricated traditions and unauthentic *isnads* (chains of transmission) had surfaced.[43] Scholars like Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Murtaḍā (d. 435/1044) and Muḥammad Jaʿfar Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067) introduced elements of rational thinking in Shīʿī theology. This tendency toward rationalism coexisted with rather than replaced traditionalism.

The transition to the rational defense of doctrines by Shīʿī scholars was also in response to criticisms leveled against them by the Muʾtazilites and Ashʿarites. Shīʿī

[40] ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, *Tafsīr al-Qummī* (Beirūt: Maṭbaʾa al-Najaf, 1968), vol. 1, p. 236.
[41] Meir Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī* Shīʿīsm (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999), p. 110.
[42] Bar-Asher, pp. 61–2.
[43] Abdulaziz Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism*: *The Idea of Mahdī in Twelver Shīʿīsm* (Albany: SUNY, 1981), pp. 109–110.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

theologians resorted to *al-dalīl al-ʿaqlī* — rational argument (the form of demonstration favored by the speculative theologians) as opposed to an exclusive reliance on scriptural proofs in vindicating important Shīʿī doctrines. During the Būyid period, this transition from traditional-based discourse to one that was anchored on reason was reflected in Shīʿī *tafsīr* too as rationalism entered into the exegetical literature.

Beginning with Ṭūsī, a shift in the attitude of Shīʿī exegetes becomes evident. Although he does not neglect traditions, Ṭūsī's analysis of Qurʾānic verses is along the lines of classical Sunnī exegesis. Thus, he incorporates a discussion on variant readings *(qirāʾāt)* of a given verse, a lexical discussion of difficult or rare words or expressions *(lugha)*, issue of syntax inherent in the verse and a discussion of the content *(maʿnī)* of the verse under consideration. In addition, Ṭūsī occasionally discusses other aspects, such as the circumstances that brought about the revelation of certain verses (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), traditions in praise of various *suras* and verses, etc.[44]

The Tablets in Shīʿī Exegetical Literature

Using the traditional approach outlined above, Shīʿī exegetes writing in the pre-Būyid era relied primarily on traditions reported from the Imāms in their understanding of the tablets and their contents. Since the Qurʾān uses terms like *mawʾiẓa* (exhortation) and *tafṣīl* (exposition) in verse 7:145 without discussing or explaining them, Shīʿī exegetes were able to speculate on the possible ramifications of the tablets and who their true recipients were.

The early Shīʿī exegetes went beyond the Sunnī discourse on the tablets. Focusing on the words "of all things," pre-Būyid Shīʿī exegetes claimed that the tablets were an essential part of the divine-inspired knowledge reportedly located in the Imām. Hence, Shīʿī commentators linked the tablets with the Imāms rather than with Moses. It is in this context that we need to understand the Shīʿī concept of the *jafr*. In Shīʿī *ḥadīth* literature, *jafr* is described as a pot made of cow-hide. It contains the knowledge of the Prophets, their legatees, and the learned ones among the Israelites. There are two types of *jafr* — white and red. The white *jafr* is said to contain the Psalms of David, the Torah of Moses, the Gospel of Jesus, the scrolls of Abraham and all knowledge of the religiously lawful and unlawful (*ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*). It is this white *jafr* that is also believed to include the tablets given to Moses. The red *jafr*, on the other hand, has the weapons of the Prophets and will be opened by the twelfth Shīʿī messianic Imām, the Mahdī (b. 256/870), when he reappears at the end of time to establish justice and equality on earth.

Shīʿī *ḥadīth* literature reports different traditions on how the *jafr* was obtained by the Prophet. According to one tradition, it is reported that when Muḥammad was informed by God that his death was imminent, the Prophet asked Him to "fulfill His

[44] Meir Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shīʿīsm*, p. 80.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

promise." God replied by commanding him to climb the Mountain of Uḥud along with ʿAlī, the first Shīʿī Imām, and, facing away from the direction of prayer, make the mountain aware of his presence. He was then instructed to select a certain young calf or lamb (*jafrah*, implying the derivation of *jafr*) with prominent horns and blood spouting from its veins, and have ʿAlī slaughter it and turn its skin inside out; the skin would be found to be already tanned. At this point, so the Prophet was told, the spirit (*rūḥ*) and Gabriel would come with heavenly pen and ink (its color a luminous green), and, as the Prophet dictated, ʿAlī was to record the revelation. Both the skin and the ink are indestructible. Even though the scroll becomes more fresh and new every time it is unrolled, no one is allowed to view it except the Imāms.[45]

The information inscribed by ʿAlī on the *jafr* included the description of "every age and what shall occur therein," "all that has been and shall be until the day of resurrection." It will also include "things the interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of which is known only to God and 'those firmly rooted in knowledge' " (Q 3:7), and the identity of "those among his progeny who shall become the friends (*awliyāʾ*) of God continuously until the last day.[46] The *jafr* contains, in addition, news of "every enemy they (the Imāms) shall have in every epoch," and "every event that shall overtake both ʿAlī and his descendants, the Imāms."[47]

Transmission of the *Jafr*

What is the link between the tablets and the *jafr* and how were they transmitted to the Imāms? Al-ʿAyyāshī cites a lengthy report from Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), the sixth Shīʿī Imām. The tradition cites verse 7:145 and states that the tablets that were given to Moses contained an exposition of all things that have occurred and will occur to the end of time. When God gave Moses the tablets, He asked him to store them in a certain mountain in Yemen. When Moses reached the mountain, it split open. He then placed the tablets, which had been properly wrapped, in the open mountain. The mountain then closed up. The tradition goes on to state that the tablets remained in the mountain until the time of Muḥammad.

In Muḥammad's time, a delegation from Yemen that was traveling to meet the Prophet passed by the mountain. When they reached the mountain, it split open and the tablets appeared, covered just as Moses had left them. The Yemenis took the tablets. When it was in their hands, God caused fear and awe to enter into their hearts so that they would not look at its contents. They journeyed until they reached Medina to meet the Prophet. In the meantime, God sent Gabriel to the Prophet to inform him of the

[45] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār , *Baṣāʾir al-Darajāt fī Faḍāʾil Āl* Muḥammad (Qum: Maktaba Ayat Allah al-Marʿashī), pp. 506–7.
[46] Al-Ṣaffār, p. 507.
[47] See Lynda Clarke, "Early Doctrine of the Shiʿah according to the Shīʿī Sources," (Unpublished Thesis, McGill University, 1994), p. 129.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

coming of the Yemenis and to acquaint him of what had happened to them. When the Yemenis met the Prophet, he asked them as to what they had found on their way to Medina. They asked him, "Who informed you regarding what we have found?" He said, "My Lord informed me, [what you have] are the tablets of Moses." At that point, the Yemenis converted to Islam and gave the tablets to Muḥammad.

The Prophet read them and found that they were in Hebrew. He then called out to ʿAlī and told him that the tablets contained knowledge of things from the beginning to the end of time. "These are," Muḥammad continues, "the tablets of Moses. My Lord has commanded me to give them to you." ʿAlī responded that he could not read them as they were in Hebrew.

At that point, the Prophet told him that Gabriel had commanded him to tell ʿAlī to put them under his head that night, and that "when you wake up you will be able to read them." ʿAlī did as he was told. When he woke up in the morning, God had taught him everything that the tablets contained.[48] The Prophet then asked him to copy it. He copied it on a sheep's skin, and this is the *jafr*. The report stresses that it contains knowledge of all things from the beginning to the end of time. Al-Ṣādiq continues in the tradition, "We (the Imāms) have the tablets, we have the rod of Moses, the Prophet has bequeathed us (the Imāms) with it.[49]

Sayyid Hāshim al-Baḥrānī (d. 1107/1696 or 1108/1697), another Shīʿī exegete, cites the same report that al-ʿAyyāshī does. In addition, he cites other traditions whose contents differ from the tradition cited by al-ʿAyyāshī although the final outcome is similar, i.e., the tablets are finally given to the Imāms. In another tradition cited by al-Baḥrānī, ʿAlī states that when Moses became angry, he broke some of the tablets, some he did not break and others were taken back by God. Joshua, who succeeded Moses, transmitted the tablets [and it continued] generation after generation until they reached a group in Yemen who had heard of Muḥammad.

When they heard of his preaching, they decided to visit him in Medina. Gabriel informed the Prophet of their arrival. When the Yemenis arrived to see the Prophet, he informed them their names and what they had in their possession. The Yemenis accepted Islam and the contents of the tablets were placed under ʿAlī's head. He memorized them.[50]

It is important to comprehend the importance of the tablets to the Shīʿī understanding of the authority and the knowledge of the Imāms. Based on the words "of all things," the tradition reported by al-ʿAyyāshī states that the information contained in the tablets would empower the Imāms with the ability to know all the events that occurred from the

[48] The view that ʿAlī was asked to put it under his head overnight so that he could learn from it is also reported by al-Ṣaffār in *Baṣā'ir*, p. 140.

[49] Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī, *Kitāb al-Tafsīr* (2 vols. Tehrān: al-Maktaba al-ʿIlmiyya al-Islāmiyya, 1961), vol. 2, p. 28; Sayyid Hāshim al-Baḥrānī, *al-Burhān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (4 vols. Beirut: Mu'assassa al-Wafā', 1983), vol. 2, p. 36.

[50] al-Baḥrānī, *al-Burhān*, vol. 2, pp. 36–37.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

beginning to the end of time. It would also enable him to know what is legally prescribed and prohibited. It is because of this empowerment that ʿAlī is reported to have told his companions, "Ask me what will happen to the day of resurrection."[51]

The tradition also suggests that the tablets were, in reality, meant for the Imāms, who were to be their final custodians. Moses was merely a conduit to deliver the *alwāḥ* to the rightful recipients. Thus, in the final analysis, it was the Imāms, not Moses, that the tablets were intended for. The tradition also maintains that God ensured the preservation and deliverance of the tablets to its ultimate destination suggesting, thereby, the working of the divine agency in the transmission of the tablets to the Imāms. It is also to be noted that Shīʿī exegesis of verse 7:145 focuses on the terms "of all things." In contrast, Sunnī commentators on the same verse stress "admonishment" and "exposition." By emphasizing "of all things", pre- Būyid Shīʿī commentators were able to link the tablets to the extra-ordinary knowledge reportedly endowed to the Imāms.

The tradition also mentions what the tablets contained. Although it does not describe or explain the contents in detail, it stresses that the tablets contain information pertaining to all previous and future events. This information is now available to the Imāms whose authority and knowledge would inevitably be enhanced. Sunnī exegetes, on the other hand, interpret the same words in verse 7:145 ("of all things") as referring to the revelation of the *halakhic* and ethical codes to the Israelites.

In addition, the Shīʿī tradition on the tablets connects the tablets with the *jafr*. ʿAlī copied the tablets and these were transmitted to other Imāms in the form of the *jafr*. The *jafr* was obtained by the Prophet for the special use of ʿAlī and his descendants. The Imāms could use the *jafr* in different ways. The *jafr* contains news of "every enemy the Imāms shall have in every age," and "every event to overtake both ʿA1ī and his descendants, the Imāms."[52] The Imāms could use the information in making important decisions. Thus, for example, when he was forced to accept the political leadership of the community (caliphate), ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 202/818), the eighth Shīʿī Imām is quoted as telling the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833), "The *jafr* and *jāmiʿa* indicate the opposite of this.[53] In essence, the *jafr* enabled the Imām to prophesy that he would not inherit the caliphate from al-Maʾmūn. "My son," says Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799), the seventh Imām, "looks along with me into the *jafr*, and no one may look at it except a Prophet or an Imām."[54]

However, most traditions indicate that the tablets were just one component (albeit a significant one) of the *jafr*, which included other scrolls and forms of knowledge that were available to the Imāms. Some traditions also indicate that the *jafr* includes the

[51] al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣāʾir*, p. 202.
[52] Clarke, "Early Doctrine", p. 129.
[53] D. B. MacDonald, "Djafr," in *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*. eds. H. A. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, (Leiden: Brill, 1961), pp. 80–81. The *jāmiʿa* is another scroll the Imāms are reported to have possessed.
[54] Clarke, "Early Doctrine," p. 128.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

Torah and the Gospels[55] and all previous scrolls in their possession.[56] Thus, Jaʿfar al-Ṣadīq is reported to have stated, "We have the scrolls of Abraham and the tablets of Moses."[57]

It should be emphasized that not all Shīʿī exegetes accepted the tradition that connected the tablets with the *jafr*. As I have stated, exegetes writing in the Būyid and post-Būyid period were more critical in accepting traditions. Their exegetical discourses were based on both *al-dalīl al-ʿaqlī* and *al-dalīl al-samʿī*. In his discussion on the tablets, the famous Shīʿī scholar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (Shaykh) Ṭūsī endorses the Sunnī view that they contain the *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*, and adds that the tablets also contain what is morally right and wrong, what is recommended and reprehensible and everything else that is required. He also maintains that the Torah was included in the tablets.[58] More importantly, Ṭūsī quotes Sunnī exegetes like al-Jubbāʾī (d. 302/915), Mujāhid, and Qaṭāda while ignoring traditions that connect the tablets with the *jafr* and the explanation provided by erstwhile Shīʿī commentators on verse 7:145.

Even in Shīʿī circles there was some confusion on the relationship between the tablets and the Torah. This is confirmed in a tradition cited by Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrīsī (d. 548/1153–4) from ibn ʿAbbās. He states that the *alwāḥ* were, in fact, the Torah. Like the Sunnī exegetes and Ṭūsī, Ṭabrīsī speculates on the composition of the tablets rather than on their contents.[59] For Ṭabrīsī, the term "of all things" in the verse refers to the *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* and all commandments and prohibitions. Like Ṭūsī, Ṭabrīsī ignores the tradition that links the tablets with the knowledge of the Imāms.

Similarly, the twentieth-century Qurʾānic commentator ʿAllāma Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabaṭabāʾī (d. 1402/1982) dismisses Shīʿī reports that the tablets were hidden in a mountain in Yemen. He states that such reports are singular (reported by only one reporter) and that they are not supported by conclusive proofs (*qarāʾin qaṭʿiyya*).[60] Ṭabaṭabāʾī also states that the Qurʾānic term "of all things" refers to general admonition and exposition, not to the knowledge of everything from the beginning to the end of time. Thus, he rejects the explanation provided by pre-Būyid exegetes. For him, the tablets refer to the Torah and all things necessary for the Israelites to maintain their beliefs and undertake their religious practices.[61] Ṭabaṭabāʾī also suggests that, in itself, the Torah is not sufficient to serve the needs of the people. It is because of this that the Qurʾān mentions the Torah, tablets, Gospels, and the book separately.[62]

[55] Al-Ṣaffār , *Baṣāʾir*, p. 140.
[56] Al-Ṣaffār, p. 136.
[57] Al-Ṣaffār. In another tradition, al-Ṣādiq describes the contents of the *jafr* at his disposal, al-Ṣaffār, p. 150.
[58] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-*Qurʾān (10 vols. Beirūt: Dār Iḥyā al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, n.d.), vol. 4, pp. 539–540.
[59] al-Ṭabrīsī, *Majmaʿ*, vol. 4, p. 733.
[60] Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn (ʿAllāma) Ṭabaṭabāʾī , *al-Mīzān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (20 vols. Qum: Jāmiʿa al-Mudarrisīn, n.d.), vol. 8, p. 261.
[61] Ṭabaṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān*, vol. 8, p. 245.
[62] Ṭabaṭabāʾī, vol. 8, p. 250.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

The Tablets and the Knowledge of the Imāms

As we have seen, early Shīʿī *tafsīr* connects the *alwāḥ* and the *jafr* with the knowledge of the Imāms. This was a significant step for the Shīʿīs because they could now claim that the Imāms were the inheritors of the knowledge of the Prophets. As I have shown elsewhere, different factions within the Muslim community competed to be the heirs of the Prophet during the early period of Islamic history thereby validating their claims to religious and/or political authority. The title "heirs of the Prophet" was an honorific epithet that conferred authority to those who claimed it.[63]

The title was based on a Prophetic tradition "The scholars are heirs of the Prophet." The tradition emphasizes that the Prophet had bequeathed knowledge that was, according to the Shīʿīs, in the hands of the Imāms. It was this factor that empowered the Imāms to exercise religious authority over the community. The Shīʿīs added extra dimensions to vindicate their claims that the Imāms were the exclusive and legitimate heirs of the Prophet. Apart from the knowledge of the Prophet, the Shīʿīs maintained that the Imāms had the scrolls and weapons of the Prophet.[64] The Shīʿīs argued that the weapons would fit the Imāms only, thus providing incontrovertible proof as to who were the true heirs of the Prophet. In addition, as they belonged to the family of the Prophet, the *ahl al-bayt* (something that most caliphs and Sunnī scholars could not claim), the Shīʿī Imāms contended that they were the Prophet's heirs based on lineal descent.

The tablets and *jafr* were important components that would enable the Imāms to claim to be the true and exclusive Prophetic heirs. Since the tablets contain knowledge of all things the Imāms gain knowledge of the future, in particular of their own destiny. There is in this *jafr* "that which causes people to have need of us" (i.e. the necessary knowledge of the law for which people must apply to the Imāms) while "we have need of no one."[65] The tablets, in the Shīʿī theory of epistemology, form an intrinsic part of the Imāms' divinely bestowed knowledge. Due to the weapons and extra knowledge that the Imāms have at their disposal, Shīʿī exegetes and theologians could and often did argue that the knowledge of the Imāms surpassed that of the Prophets. Thus, al-Ṣādiq is reported to have claimed, "I know more than what Moses and Khiḍr ever did."[66] Even the *jinns* would visit the Imāms to seek answers to their questions.[67]

The tablets are also important in the Shīʿī theory of the Imāmate because they could be used in polemics. This is because they help elevate the knowledge of the Imāms who were, as mentioned, the rightful recipients of the tablets. Due to the tablets and other scrolls at their disposal, the Imāms are aware of all that has been revealed to the angels

[63] Liyakat Takim, *The Heirs of the Prophet: Charisma and Religious Authority in* Shīʿīte *Islam* (Albany: SUNY, 2006).
[64] Takim, chapters one and two.
[65] Clarke, "Early Doctrine," p. 131.
[66] Al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir*, p. 129. Khiḍr is the mysterious learned traveler who traveled with Moses. Although Khiḍr is not mentioned by name, the episode is narrated in chapter 18 of the Qur'an.
[67] Al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir*, p. 96; Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī fī Ilm al-Dīn* (4 vols. Tehrān: Daftar Farhang Ahl al-Bayt, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 242.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

and the Prophets.[68] It is also believed that they know all languages,[69] and that people's speech is not hidden from them.[70] Due to the scrolls at their disposal, the Imāms can even judge by David's wisdom[71] and predict the future.[72] The collective knowledge of the Imāms distinguishes and raises them above the Sunnī caliphs, scholars, and even biblical Prophets.

The fact that, in the tradition cited above, the Yemenis deliver the tablets to the Prophet and are astonished that he knows them and what is in their possession even before they inform him further underscores the polemical nature and importance of the tablets tradition. It suggests that even Jews are moved by the divine agency that is working to ensure that the *alwāḥ* are delivered to the rightful recipients. This leads to their acceptance of Muḥammad's mission and conversion to Islam.

The discussion on the tablets and the *jafr* must be contextualized within the wider framework of the sources of knowledge of the Imāms. As heirs of the Prophet, the Imāms also inherit the sources of the Prophet's knowledge. According to Shīʿī *ḥadīth*, the knowledge of an Imām is derived from diverse sources. His knowledge may be inherited from the previous Imām, or it could be acquired from the scrolls that have been handed down from the previous Imām. It could also be attained through direct contact with an angel. In this sense, the Imām is regarded as *muḥaddath*, for it is believed that the Imām hears but does not see an angel.[73] In addition, occult knowledge is transmitted to the Imām by the marking of the heart and the piercing of the eardrum.[74] Some traditions further indicate that the Imām receives celestial inspiration on the night of power (*layl al-qadr*),[75] and that every Thursday night, his spirit ascends in a pilgrimage to the divine throne, where it is filled with all the knowledge the Imām requires.[76]

It should be noted that, even among Shīʿī scholars, there were differences regarding the extent and possible ramifications of the knowledge of the Imāms. According to some reports, the Imāms themselves denied that they possessed extra-ordinary knowledge.[77]

[68] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 1, p. 375.

[69] Al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir*, p. 333; Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Mufīd, *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ* (Qum: Maktaba al-Zahrā', 1982), p. 289. The eleventh Imām, al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, is believed to have spoken to a person in Turkish. Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, pp. 40–1. The Imāms could even read books written in different languages, al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir*, p. 339. See also Mohammad ʿAlī Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early* Shīʿīsm*: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, trans. David Streight (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 93.

[70] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 2, p. 38.

[71] Kulaynī, vol. 2, pp. 247–8.

[72] Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār Maʿrifa al-Rijāl*, ed. al-Mustafawi (Mashad: Danishgahi Mashad, 1969), p. 357, 471.

[73] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nuʿmānī, *Kitāb al-Ghayba* (Tehrān: Maktaba al-Ṣadūq, n.d.), pp. 66–67; Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn Wa Tamām al-Niʿma* (Qum: Muʾassasa al-Nashr al-Islāmi, 1985), p. 339; al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir*, pp. 369–70.

[74] Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 16.

[75] al-Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir*, pp. 220–25.

[76] al-Ṣaffār, p. 132.

[77] Etan Kohlberg, Imām and Community in the Pre-Ghayba Period," in Saʿid Arjomand (ed.), *Authority and Political Culture in* Shīʿīsm (Albany: SUNY, 1988), p. 27.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

For example, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (Sharīf) al-Murtaḍā, a prominent theologian, rejected the view that the knowledge of the Imāms exceeded that of the Prophets.[78] His teacher, Shaykh al-Mufīd is even reported to have denied that the Imāms had knowledge of the unknown[79] or that they knew all languages and events.[80]

The Tablets and the Authority of the Imāms

The tablets and other scrolls are also connected to the Shīʿī understanding of religious leadership. This is because they authenticate the Imām's claims to authority, thereby nullifying rival claims to the Imāmate. They also point to where the authentic *ʿilm* (knowledge) is located for it is only the possessor of the scrolls who has the authoritative divinely inspired knowledge. As a matter of fact, in his book *Baṣʾāir al-Darajāt*, the ninth-tenth century traditionist al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār (d. 289/902) cites one hundred traditions on the Imāms' knowledge being interwoven with the scrolls to underscore the connection between the authority of the Imām and the possession of scrolls.

The tablets, Torah, *jafr*, and other genres of knowledge are important in Shīʿī exegesis as they are connected to the Shīʿī concept of charismatic authority. The Shīʿī view of charismatic authority stipulates that along with knowledge, the authority of an Imām is substantiated by the scrolls and weapons of the Prophet that he reportedly inherited. Due to the principle of hereditary charisma that is intrinsic to the Shīʿī concept of authority, Shīʿīs maintain that the divinely bestowed knowledge (*ʿilm*) of an Imām is transmitted in a concatenated chain to all subsequent Imāms.[81] Thus, although the authority of an Imām can, theoretically, be inherited by any one of a number of his sons, it is the belief in the possession of the scrolls and divinely inspired knowledge that restricts the authority to a particular individual. The tablets, along with the other scrolls, act as a mitigating factor, ensuring that only the rightful candidate among several contenders for the Imāmate can inherit the Imām's charisma and authority. In this context, we can comprehend the Shīʿī insistence that inherited authority must be complemented by inherited knowledge for it is the latter characteristic that enables the Imām to interpret the divine message authentically.

Furthermore, the possession of the tablets and *jafr* is important in the study of the Shīʿī concept of religious authority because, in the absence of any political investiture, this was the only factor that could prove the claim to Imāmate when disputes arose

[78] ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Shāfīʿī fīʾl-Imāma* (2 vols. Tehrān: Muʾassassa al-Ṣādiq, 1990), vol. 1, pp. 40–1, vol. 2 pp. 30–1.
[79] Hossein Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shīʿīte Islam* (Princeton: Darwin, 1993), pp. 25–6; Meir Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shīʿīsm*, pp. 152–3.
[80] Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Mufīd, *Awāʾīl al-Maqālāt fī al-Madhāhib waʾl-Mukhtārāt* (Tabriz: n.p. 1950), p. 77.
[81] See Takim, *The Heirs*, chapters one and two.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.

regarding the identity of a true successor of an Imām. The scrolls and the concomitant knowledge becomes the source of authority and the only feasible means to legitimize any claim to authority.

Shīʿī understanding of sacred history further stipulates that this *ʿilm* and the concomitant authority be fully retained in a particular line of the Prophet's family, more specifically among the *ahl al-bayt*. It is therefore related from Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 113/731–2 or 119/737), the fifth Imām, that *ʿilm* should not be sought from the east or the west, rather, it was to be acquired from the *ahl al-bayt* only.[82] Stated differently, it was the source rather than the substance of the knowledge that was important. Only knowledge derived from the *ahl al-bayt* was valid since it was inherited from the Prophets.

Conclusion

Unlike the Sunnīs, pre-Būyid Shīʿī exegetes focus on the words "of all things" rather than on "admonishment" and "exposition." This is not to say that the latter terms are not mentioned; rather, the emphasis is on "of all things" because these could be used to enhance the authority and knowledge of the Imāms. The function of the tablets and *jafr* was testimonial, that is, to vindicate and acknowledge the knowledge of the Imām. Amidst competing factions that sought legitimacy by claiming to be "orthodox," traditions on the tablets and *jafr* were deployed to make an important contribution in formulating orthodox Shīʿī beliefs and practices, positing, in the process, a "normative" view of Shīʿīsm.

In the process of disputation with the Sunnī and non-Muslim other, pre-Būyid Shīʿīs used the tablets traditions, along with other statements from the Imāms, to help establish and assert the correct and therefore "saved" authority, for consolidation (defense of beliefs) and the creation of an "orthodox" institution. Without the assertion and recognition of the "saved authority" and "sacred sources", the community could not possibly be saved.

[82] Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār Maʿrifā al-Rijāl*, 209.

© 2011 Hartford Seminary.